

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 175829

FOR DEPUTY SECRETARY'S PARTY/TOM RESTON FROM S/PRS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SOPN

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL PRESS CONFERENCE, JULY 28

FOLLOWING PRESS GUIDANCE WAS PREPARED FOR PRESIDENT'S
PRESS CONFERENCE SCHEDULED FOR 1030 A.M. EDT JULY 28.
NOTE GUIDANCES PREPARED FIRST PERSON FOR PRESIDENT'S USE.

1. Q: YOUR SPEECH IN SOUTH CAROLINA LAST WEEK WAS SEEN
BY SOME AS AN EFFORT TO REDEFINE U.S. POLICY ON THE SOVIET
UNION, IN RESPONSE TO CRITICISM BY FRENCH PRESIDENT
GISCARD D'ESTAING AND OTHERS. DID YOU INTEND TO SIGNAL A
MORE CONCILIATORY LINE AND WILL THIS BE FOLLOWED BY ANY
SPECIFIC NEW ACTIONS OR PROPOSALS?

A: I SAID IN MY SPEECH AT CHARLESTON THAT, IF THE SOVIETS
HAD ANY MISCONCEPTION OF OUR MOTIVES, WE WOULD REDOUBLE
OUR EFFORTS TO MAKE THEM CLEAR. WE ARE READY TO CLEAR UP
ANY MISUNDERSTANDING OF OUR POSITION, OR OF THE PROPOSALS
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WE HAVE MADE, WHICH MAY CONTRIBUTE TO A NEGATIVE ATTITUDE
ON THE PART OF THE SOVIET UNION. THAT IS A POSITIVE AND
CO TRUCTIVE OFFER, AND IT IS BACKED BY THE BEST OF GOOD
WILL ON OUR PART.

WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE TONE OF THE SOVIET COMMENT ON MY
SPEECH.

2. Q: WHAT DOES THE U.S. WANT SOUTH AFRICA TO DO WITH
REGARD TO ITS RACIAL POLICIES?

A: WE BELIEVE SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD MOVE NOW TOWARDS AN
END TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION FOR ALL SOUTH AFRICANS;
THIS MEANS A PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN
SOCIETY. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF WAYS TO EXPRESS THE
PRINCIPLE OF FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.

WE ARE NOT TELLING SOUTH AFRICA JUST WHAT SORT OF
GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE IS NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE THIS
OBJECTIVE. OBVIOUSLY, ONLY THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA
ARE IN A POSITION TO WORK THAT OUT.

SOUTH AFRICA MUST BEGIN SOON TO MAKE PROGRESS IF THERE IS
TO BE A POSSIBILITY OF PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS IN THE LONGER
RUN.

Q: ARE WE PRESSING THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO MOVE TOO FAST,
AT AN UNREALISTIC PACE?

A: WE HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT WE LOOK FOR A PROGRESSIVE
TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY INCLUDING FULL
POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR ALL. WE HAVE PRESCRIBED NEITHER A
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TIME TABLE NOR SPECIFIC PROCEDURES FOR IMPLEMENTATION.
BUT THERE MUST BE ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE GOAL AND EVIDENT
PROGRESS. OTHERWISE, OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH SOUTH AFRICA
WILL CHANGE. WE HOPE THERE WILL BE PROGRESS, BOTH FOR
THE SAKE OF SOUTH AFRICA AND BECAUSE WE HOPE FOR GOOD
RELATIONS WITH THAT NATION.

3. Q: GIVEN MR. SMITH'S REJECTION OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN
RHODESIAN PEACE PROPOSALS, WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

A: I MET WITH BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN LAST WEEKEND
AND WE AGREED THAT OUR TWO COUNTRIES WILL CONTINUE TO
SEARCH FOR THE BASIS OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT TO THE
RHODESIAN PROBLEM.

WE ARE IN AGREEMENT THAT THE SETTLEMENT MUST LEAD RAPIDLY
TO MAJORITY RULE AND A NEW, INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT FOR
RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE) TO BE ELECTED IN AN ELECTION BASED ON

UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE.

WE WILL CONTINUE WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE BRITISH.
SECRETARY VANCE WILL MEET WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN
IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING HIS MIDDLE EASTERN TRIP AND AT THAT
TIME DISCUSS THE TIMING FOR THE PRESENTATION OF PROPOSALS
TO ALL OF THE PARTIES.

4. Q: IN CONNECTION WITH YOUR DECISION TO WITHDRAW U.S. GROUND FORCES FROM SOUTH KOREA, YOU HAVE STATED YOUR INTENTION TO PROVIDE THE KOREANS WITH A SUBSTANTIAL MILITARY ASSISTANCE PACKAGE TO IMPROVE THEIR EQUIPMENT AND FIGHTING CAPABILITIES. DO YOU EXPECT TO BE ABLE TO GET YOUR KOREAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM THROUGH CONGRESS INTACT AND, IF YOU DON'T WILL YOU MODIFY YOUR TROOP WITHDRAWAL PLANS ACCORDINGLY?

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A: AS I HAVE STATED, IT IS MY INTENTION TO CONSULT FULLY WITH CONGRESS ON EVERY PHASE OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF OUR GROUND FORCES FROM KOREA.

DEFENSE SECRETARY BROWN HAS BRIEFED CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS AT THE WHITE HOUSE ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE WE INTEND TO SEEK IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN KOREA'S SELF-DEFENSE CAPABILITY.

NOW THAT HE HAS RETURNED FROM HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH KOREAN LEADERS, WE WILL BE CONSULTING FURTHER WITH CONGRESS TO SEE HOW THESE REQUIREMENTS CAN BEST BE MET.

I HAVE STATED THAT OUR TROOP WITHDRAWAL PROGRAM WILL BE CARRIED OUT IN A MANNER THAT MAINTAINS SECURITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA AND A STRATEGIC BALANCE IN THE AREA AND ILLUSTRATES THAT OUR SECURITY COMMITMENT TO SOUTH KOREA REMAINS UNDIMINISHED.

WE WILL OBVIOUSLY BE WORKING CLOSELY WITH CONGRESS ON THIS ISSUE. I AM CONFIDENT THAT WE CAN DEVELOP AN ADEQUATE AND APPROPRIATE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

5. Q: HOW DO YOU SQUARE YOUR OPTIMISM AFTER PRIME MINISTER BEGIN'S VISIT ABOUT RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IN OCTOBER, WHEN NO VISIBLE EVIDENCE EXISTS THAT THE ISRAELI-ARAB IMPASSE OVER PLO PARTICIPATION HAS BEEN BROKEN?

A: I HAVE NOW CONDUCTED LONG AND DEEP DISCUSSIONS WITH ALL THE KEY LEADERS OF THE MIDDLE EAST, INCLUDING THE NEW PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL. ON THE BASIS OF THOSE TALKS, I AM CONVINCED THAT THEY ALL WANT TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS
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FOR AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT OF THEIR DISPUTE.

THEY ALL SEE THE IMPORTANCE OF RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

THEY ARE ALL AGREED THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE CONDUCTED ON THE BASIS OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338. THEY ARE ALL AGREED THAT EACH SIDE SHOULD BE FREE TO PUT OUT ITS OWN POSITION IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS.

THERE ARE DIFFERENCES. THE QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS IS ONE. ISRAEL HAS PUT FORWARD A PROPOSAL FOR STARTING NEGOTIATIONS. WE NOW HOPE TO HEAR THE ARAB PROPOSALS. MEANWHILE, WE HAVE AN OPEN MIND ABOUT THE BEST WAY TO PROCEED.

SECRETARY VANCE IS GOING TO THE MIDDLE EAST SHORTLY TO SEE IF THE DIFFERENCES ON THE PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION AND OTHER ISSUES CAN BE NARROWED.

IN THE PROCESS WE SHALL BE PREPARED TO PRESENT SOME IDEAS OF OUR OWN ON HOW BEST TO PROCEED. WHILE I CANNOT GUARANTEE SUCCESS IN ADVANCE, I BELIEVE THE GOVERNMENTS INVOLVED ARE EAGER TO MEET. THEY RECOGNIZE THE TIME HAS COME TO AGREE ON THE FORMAT AND PARTICIPATION OF A GENEVA CONFERENCE WHICH ALL WANT RECONVENED LATER THIS YEAR.

6. Q: IN SPECIFIC TERMS WHAT DO YOU EXPECT SECRETARY VANCE'S MIDDLE EASTERN TRIP TO ACHIEVE?

A: THE SECRETARY'S TRIP IS ANOTHER STEP IN OUR CONTINUING EFFORTS TO GET NEGOTIATIONS BEGUN ON A SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT.

NOW THAT THE GROUNDWORK HAS BEEN LAID IN TALKS WITH ALL CONFIDENTIAL

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KEY MIDDLE EAST LEADERS, SECRETARY VANCE IS RETURNING TO THE AREA TO HELP THE PARTIES WORK OUT THE PRACTICALITIES OF RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. IF NECESSARY, HE CAN CONTINUE THOSE TALKS WHEN INDIVIDUAL FOREIGN MINISTERS COME TO NEW YORK IN SEPTEMBER FOR THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

WE HAVE OF COURSE NOT ENDORSED ANY PROPOSAL AS THE ONLY BASIS FOR GETTING TO GENEVA. HAVING HEARD ISRAEL'S VIEWS, WE NOW WANT TO HEAR THE LATEST ARAB VIEWS, ON THE BEST WAY TO GET NEGOTIATIONS STARTED. MEANWHILE, WE HAVE AN OPEN MIND.

DIFFICULTIES DO REMAIN, AND I DO NOT UNDERESTIMATE THEM. SO FAR AS RECONVENING GENEVA IS CONCERNED, THERE ARE DIFFERENCES IN PARTICULAR OVER PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND WE WANT TO HEAR THE LATEST ARAB VIEWS ON THIS.

NEVERTHELESS WE HAVE A BEGINNING. SECRETARY VANCE WILL SEEK TO NARROW DIFFERENCES STILL MORE. I AM CONVINCED ALL THE PARTIES WANT TO WORK OUT AN ACCOMMODATION ESSENTIAL TO OBTAINING A DURABLE PEACE. THEY ARE EAGER TO MEET, AND THE TIME HAS COME NOW FOR AGREEMENT ON PROCEEDING. I REMAIN CONFIDENT THAT WE WILL FIND A WAY TO GET TO GENEVA, HOPEFULLY IN OCTOBER.

7. Q: HAS THE U.S. MADE ITS DECISION ON WHETHER TO LEAVE THE ILO?

A: NO DECISION HAS BEEN MADE YET. THE USG IS ENGAGED IN A THOROUGH REVIEW OF ITS EFFORTS TO REFORM THE ILO. THIS REVIEW WILL TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE VIEWS OF THE OTHER CONFIDENTIAL

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MEMBERS OF THE TRIPARTITE U.S. DELEGATION TO THE ILO, THE AFL-CIO AND THE U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, AS WELL AS THOSE OF OTHER MEMBER STATES, THE VALUE OF THE WORK OF THE ILO AND THE POSSIBLE EFFECT OF OUR DECISION ON OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION WILL BE ANNOUNCED AFTER OUR REVIEW IS COMPLETED.

Q: ARE YOU CONSULTING WITH ILO OFFICIALS?

A: I WILL MEET WITH ILO DIRECTOR GENERAL BLANCHARD FRIDAY AFTERNOON.

Q: ARE YOU CONSULTING WITH OTHER ILO MEMBER STATES?

A: ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS CHARLES WILLIAM MAYNES AND U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO THE ILO DANIEL L. HOROWITZ MET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR WESTERN ALLIES IN GENEVA JULY 26/27 TO DISCUSS THE ILO SITUATION.

8. Q: CAN YOU EVALUATE FOR US THE RECENTLY-CONCLUDED SIXTH SESSION OF THE UN LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE?

A: ONE OF OUR KEY OBJECTIVES IN THE LAW OF THE SEA NEGOTIATIONS IS INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT ON CONDUCTING SEABED MINING IN A WAY THAT WILL PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF ALL CONCERNED NATIONS INCLUDING, OF COURSE, OUR OWN.

IN THIS RESPECT, AS WAS POINTED OUT BY OUR REPRESENTATIVE TO THE CONFERENCE, ELIOT RICHARDSON, WE ARE NOT SATISFIED WITH THE RESULTS OF THE RECENT SESSION. IT PRODUCED A TEXT IN WHOSE PREPARATION WE HAD NO PART, WHICH WAS NOT DISCUSSED WITH A REPRESENTATIVE GROUP OF INTERESTED STATES, AND WHICH WAS NOT RELEASED UNTIL AFTER THE SESSION CONCLUDED. IT CANNOT, THEREFORE, BE VIEWED AS A RESPONS-

BLE CONTRIBUTION TO FURTHER NEGOTIATION.
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ON A POSITIVE NOTE, HOWEVER, WE ARE PLEASED THAT NEW PROVISIONS WERE NEGOTIATED CLARIFYING THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE NEW 200-MILE ECONOMIC ZONE; THEY ARE A MARKED IMPROVEMENT OVER PREVIOUS TEXTS. CERTAIN IMPROVEMENTS WERE MADE CONCERNING CONTROL OF POLLUTION IN TERRITORIAL SEAS, AND THERE CONTINUES TO BE BROAD SUPPORT, AS PART OF AN OVERALL TREATY PACKAGE, FOR A TERRITORIAL SEA OF 12 MILES, AND FOR TRANSIT PASSAGE THROUGH AND OVER STRAITS. THERE WAS ALSO CONTINUED PROGRESS IN THE DESIGN OF A COMPREHENSIVE SYSTEM FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES RELATING TO OCEAN USES.

9. Q: IN RECENT WEEKS, THERE HAVE BEEN PRESS REPORTS INDICATING YOU ARE CONSIDERING A RANGE OF OPTIONS LEADING TO NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. IN VIEW OF SECRETARY VANCE'S COMING TRIP TO PEKING CAN YOU SHED ANY MORE LIGHT ON THESE OPTIONS?

A: AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE A NUMBER OF MAJOR POLICY REVIEWS UNDERWAY ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS ISSUES AND THAT CHINA IS THE SUBJECT OF ONE OF THOSE. HOWEVER, I DON'T BELIEVE IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO GIVE THE DETAILS OF OUR REVIEW AT THIS STAGE.

WE HAVE STATED THAT NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS A MAJOR GOAL OF THIS ADMINISTRATION. SECRETARY VANCE WILL DISCUSS WITH CHINESE LEADERS A WIDE RANGE OF MATTERS RELATIVE TO OUR INTERESTS AND WE HOPE WE CAN MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD NORMALIZATION.

WE HOPE THE CHINESE WILL CONSIDER OUR DISCUSSIONS IN THE SAME SPIRIT.
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Q: HOW DO YOU RECONCILE YOUR DEFENSE COMMITMENT TO TAIWAN IN THE LIGHT OF YOUR DESIRE FOR NORMALIZATION WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA?

A: THIS IS ONE OF MANY ISSUES, AND WE HOPE TO FIND A FORMULA WHICH WILL ENABLE US TO MOVE OUR RELATIONSHIP FORWARD.

AS I HAVE STATED, OUR POLICY TOWARDS NORMALIZATION WILL BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. THE ISSUES OF TAIWAN IS ONE WE HOPE THE CHINESE CAN SETTLE PEACEFULLY BY THEMSELVES.

10. Q: ARE YOU STILL FLEXIBLE ON SALT, OR DOES YOUR CHARLESTON SPEECH MEAN YOU ARE HOLDING FIRM?

A: WE APPROACH THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS WITH A FLEXIBLE AND OPENMINDED ATTITUDE REGARDING THE SPECIFIC DETAILS OF A NEW ACCORD. AS I SAID IN CHARLESTON, WE ARE PREPARED TO LIMIT OUR STRATEGIC PROGRAMS WHICH CAUSE THE GREATEST CONCERN TO THE SOVIETS -- SUCH AS CRUISE MISSILES -- IF MOSCOW IS WILLING TO LIMIT THOSE SOVIET SYSTEMS WHICH MOST SERIOUSLY THREATEN THE SECURITY OF OUR DETERRENT.

HOWEVER, WE ARE HOLDING FIRM TO OUR BASIC GOALS IN SALT, WHICH CONTINUE TO BE: GENUINE REDUCTIONS IN THE NUMBER OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS ON BOTH SIDES; AND RESTRAINTS ON NEW WEAPONS TECHNOLOGIES THAT COULD UPSET TODAY'S STABLE STRATEGIC BALANCE. AS I SAID IN CHARLESTON, WE DO NOT WANT TO SETTLE FOR A SALT AGREEMENT THAT WILL BE OVERTURNED BY THE NEXT TECHNOLOGICAL BREAKTHROUGH.

Q: WILL YOU GO TO CONGRESS FOR AN EXTENSION OF THE 1972 INTERIM AGREEMENT?
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A: WE HAVE NOT YET DECIDED WHAT TO DO IN THE EVENT THAT WE HAVE NOT CONCLUDED A NEW SALT ACCORD BY THE TIME THE 1972 INTERIM AGREEMENT EXPIRES IN OCTOBER. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT REGARD THE OCTOBER EXPIRATION DATE AS A DEADLINE FOR COMPLETING A NEW AGREEMENT, AND ARE PREPARED TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATING BEYOND THAT DATE. ON THE OTHER HAND,

IF IT APPEARS EXPEDIENT WHEN THE TIME COMES, WE COULD CONCEIVABLY EXTEND THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WHILE NEGOTIATIONS ON A REPLACEMENT ACCORD ARE CONCLUDED. IN ANY EVENT, WE WILL, OF COURSE, CONSULT FULLY WITH THE CONGRESS BEFORE TAKING ANY ACTION.

11. Q: DURING YOUR TRIP TO THE SOUTH LAST WEEK YOU MENTIONED THE POSSIBILITY OF CONSTRUCTION OF A SEA-LEVEL CANAL IN PANAMA. DON'T YOU FEEL THAT THE TIMING OF THESE REMARKS MIGHT PUT THE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS WITH PANAMA IN JEOPARDY?

A: NO, THE JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES OF 1974 CALLED FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF EXPANSION OF THE WATERWAY (INCLUDING A SEA-LEVEL CANAL) TO BE NEGOTIATED.

HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF A SEA-LEVEL CANAL IS NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR SEEKING A TREATY THAT WILL ASSURE OUR INTEREST IN A SECURE, OPEN AND NEUTRAL PANAMA CANAL.

Q: DO YOU CONSIDER THAT THE PRESENT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS
IS AT AN IMPASSE BECAUSE OF PANAMA'S MONETARY DEMANDS?

A: NO. THE NEGOTIATORS HAVE RECESSED TO CONSULT WITH
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THEIR GOVERNMENTS. ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENTS AND OTHER
SUBJECTS ARE UNDER CONSIDERATION IN THE CURRENT ROUND.

Q: DO YOU STILL HOPE FOR A NEW TREATY BEFORE THE END OF
THIS SUMMER?

A: IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO PREDICT ANY DATE FOR COMPLETION
OF NEGOTIATIONS. THE NEGOTIATORS ARE WORKING HARD, AND
I UNDERSTAND ARE MOVING TOWARD A FINAL VERSION. VANCE

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